

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 GENEVA 10297 01 OF 02 071608Z
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 DODE-00 INRE-00
CIAE-00 /026 W

-----047494 071614Z /41

P 071523Z JUL 78

FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1749

INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

USMISSION USNATO

S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 02 GENEVA 10297

EXDIS

USSALTTWO

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PARM

SUBJECT: MINISTER SEMENOV'S STATEMENTS OF JULY 6, 1978
(SALT TWO-1803)

SEMENOV STATEMENT, JULY 6, 1978

ON BEHALF OF THE USSR DELEGATION I WOULD LIKE TO
WELCOME THE DISTINGUISHED U.S. CONGRESSIONAL REPRESENTA-
TIVES, MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
MR. ROBERT CARR AND MR. THOMAS DOWNEY, WHO ARE TAKING
PART TODAY IN THE MEETING OF THE DELEGATIONS AT THE
SOVIET-U.S. NEGOTIATIONS ON THE LIMITATION OF STRATEGIC
OFFENSIVE ARMS, WITH WHOM WE HAVE ALREADY HAD THE
PLEASURE TO MEET HERE; WE ARE PLEASED TO SEE THEM AGAIN
TODAY.

SEMENOV STATEMENT, JULY 6, 1978

- I
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 GENEVA 10297 01 OF 02 071608Z

ONE OF THE IMPORTANT ISSUES AT THE ONGOING
NEGOTIATIONS ARE LIMITATIONS ON CRUISE MISSILES CAPABLE
OF A RANGE IN EXCESS OF 600 KILOMETERS.

THE USSR DELEGATION RAISED A NUMBER OF QUESTIONS
CONCERNING THE U.S. PROPOSAL ON THE DEFINITION OF CRUISE

MISSILE RANGE, WHICH WAS SET FORTH AT THE JUNE 14, 1978 MEETING. CERTAIN CLARIFICATIONS WERE PROVIDED IN THE U.S. DELEGATION'S STATEMENT OF JUNE 29, 1978.

TODAY THE USSR DELEGATION HAS THE FOLLOWING TO ADD IN THIS CONNECTION.

IN THE INTERESTS OF PROGRESS AT THE NEGOTIATIONS AND WITH AN ACCOUNT FOR THE CONSIDERATIONS SET FORTH HERE, THE USSR DELEGATION AT THE APRIL 14, 1978 MEETING PROPOSED REVISED WORDING FOR THE AGREED STATEMENT TO ARTICLE II, PAR. 8, OF THE DRAFT TREATY--ON THE DEFINITION OF CRUISE MISSILE RANGE. ACCORDING TO THIS PROPOSAL THE RANGE OF A CRUISE MISSILE IS THE MAXIMUM DISTANCE WHICH CAN BE COVERED BY THE MISSILE IN ITS STANDARD DESIGN MODE FLYING UNTIL FUEL EXHAUSTION, DETERMINED BY PROJECTING ITS FLIGHT PATH ONTO THE EARTH'S SPHERE FROM POINT OF LAUNCH TO POINT OF IMPACT.

THIS WORDING IS AIMED AT CONSISTENT AND PRECISE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE UNDERSTANDING REACHED TO ESTABLISH 600 AND 2,500 KILOMETER LIMITS FOR CRUISE MISSILE RANGE, WHICH ARE ALSO RECORDED IN THE RELEVANT ALREADY AGREED PROVISIONS OF THE DOCUMENTS BEING WORKED OUT HERE, IN PAR. 1 OF ARTICLE V OF THE DRAFT TREATY, AS WELL AS IN PARS. 1 AND 2 OF ARTICLE III OF THE PROTOCOL THERETO.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 GENEVA 10297 01 OF 02 071608Z

COMPARISON OF THE SOVIET SIDE'S PROPOSAL ON THE DEFINITION OF CRUISE MISSILE RANGE WITH THE CONSIDERATIONS SET FORTH BY THE U.S. DELEGATION AT THE JUNE 14 AND 29, 1978 MEETINGS, INDICATES THAT THERE ARE SOME OVERLAPPING ELEMENTS.

THUS, BOTH SIDES REFER TO THE FLIGHT OF A CRUISE MISSILE IN ITS "STANDARD DESIGN MODE."

THERE IS A COMMON METHOD FOR DETERMINING DISTANCE, BY MEANS OF WHICH NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS OF VERIFICATION ESTABLISH WHETHER A CRUISE MISSILE'S RANGE CORRESPONDS TO AGREED LIMITS, I.E., BY PROJECTING THE MISSILE'S FLIGHT PATH ONTO THE EARTH'S SPHERE.

AT THE SAME TIME, CERTAIN DIFFERENCES REMAIN WITH RESPECT TO THE DEFINITION OF CRUISE MISSILE RANGE.

ALTHOUGH THE U.S. PROPOSALS SET FORTH HERE DO IMPLY ESTABLISHING A FINITE LIMIT FOR THE MAXIMUM DISTANCE WHICH CAN BE COVERED BY A CRUISE MISSILE, IT IS

CLEAR FROM THE SUBSTANCE OF THE U.S. DELEGATION'S STATEMENTS AT THE JUNE 14 AND 29, 1978 MEETINGS THAT THIS MAXIMUM DISTANCE ITSELF GREATLY EXCEEDS THE AGREED 600 AND 2,500 KILOMETER LIMITS FOR CRUISE MISSILE RANGE. THIS IS CLEARLY EVIDENCED BY THE CONSIDERATIONS EXPRESSED BY THE U.S. DELEGATION CONCERNING THE SO-CALLED "PERCENTAGE ALLOWANCE" IN ADDITION TO THE CRUISE MISSILE RANGE LIMIT, AND CONCERNING THE ADDITIONAL DISTANCE WHICH A MISSILE COULD FLY IF IT USED ITS "FUEL RESERVE."

SECRET

NNN

SECRET

PAGE 01 GENEVA 10297 02 OF 02 071549Z
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 DODE-00 INRE-00
CIAE-00 ACDE-00 /026 W
-----047059 071619Z /41

P 071523Z JUL 78
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1750
INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
USMISSION USNATO

S E C R E T SECTION 02 OF 02 GENEVA 10297

EXDIS

USSALTTWO

IN THE COURSE OF DISCUSSIONS HERE MENTION HAS ALREADY BEEN MADE OF THE VAGUENESS OF THE CONCEPT OF A CRUISE MISSILE'S SO-CALLED MAXIMUM (OR EFFECTIVE) OPERATIONAL RANGE, THE APPLICATION OF WHICH CAN ONLY GIVE RISE TO EQUIVOCAL INTERPRETATIONS, WITH ALL THE NEGATIVE CONSEQUENCES ENSUING THEREFROM IN TERMS OF PROVIDING THE SIDES WITH CONFIDENCE IN COMPLIANCE WITH THE LIMITATIONS BEING WORKED OUT FOR THE MATTER UNDER CONSIDERATION. THE CONSIDERATIONS SET FORTH BY THE U.S. DELEGATION AT THE JUNE 14 AND 29, 1978 MEETINGS ATTEST TO THE FACT THAT THIS CONCEPT NEVERTHELESS CONTINUES TO BE RETAINED AS A COMPONENT PART OF THE U.S. APPROACH. AS SHOWN BY ANALYSIS, RETENTION OF THE "MAXIMUM OPERATIONAL RANGE" CRITERION FOR CRUISE MISSILES IS NOT AT ALL AIMED AT REINFORCING THE LIMITS OF 600 AND 2,500 KILOMETERS, BUT IN ESSENCE ASSUMES THE POSSIBILITY OF THEIR BEING

SIGNIFICANTLY EXCEEDED.

IN THE CONTEXT OF CONSIDERATION OF THE DEFINITION
OF CRUISE MISSILE RANGE, ATTEMPTS TO DIVIDE SUCH MISSILES
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 GENEVA 10297 02 OF 02 071549Z

INTO CERTAIN CATEGORIES, DEPENDING UPON WHICH TARGETS
THEY ARE TO BE USED AGAINST, ARE ALSO UNFOUNDED, WHILE
EXISTING ALREADY AGREED PROVISIONS DIFFERENTIATE AMONG
CRUISE MISSILES ONLY IN TERMS OF THEIR BASING MODE.

THE WORDS "FULL SYSTEM," USED BY THE U.S. DELE-
GATION, ARE ALSO UNCLEAR AND THEREFORE REDUNDANT.

IN CONNECTION WITH THE ABOVE, I WOULD LIKE TO
EMPHASIZE THAT, CONTRARY TO THE EXISTING UNDERSTANDING,
THE PROPOSALS ADVANCED BY THE U.S. SIDE IN EFFECT BOIL
DOWN TO INCREASING THE AGREED LIMITS FOR CRUISE MISSILE
RANGE AND, CONSEQUENTLY, ARE INCONSISTENT WITH THE
ASSIGNED TASK. THAT TASK IS TO ENSURE THAT THE UNDER-
STANDING BE ACCURATELY EMBODIED IN THE WORDING TO BE
INCLUDED IN THE JOINT DRAFT OF THE DOCUMENTS BEING
PREPARED.

THE USSR DELEGATION REAFFIRMS THE REVISED SOVIET
WORDING CONTAINED IN THE JOINT DRAFT TEXT FOR THE AGREED
STATEMENT TO ARTICLE II, PAR. 8, OF THE DRAFT TREATY AS
BEING CONSISTENT WITH THE UNDERSTANDING ON THE 600 AND
2,500 KILOMETER LIMITS FOR CRUISE MISSILE RANGE, WHICH
ARE RECORDED IN THE AFOREMENTIONED AGREED PROVISIONS OF
THE DRAFT TREATY AND THE PROTOCOL THERETO.

THE SOVIET SIDE ALSO PROCEEDS FROM THE PREMISE
THAT THE SPECIFIC OBLIGATIONS BEING WORKED OUT UNDER THE
NEW TREATY IN THIS CONNECTION WILL APPLY TO ALL CRUISE
MISSILES CAPABLE OF A RANGE IN EXCESS OF 600 KILOMETERS.
MOREOVER, THE DEFINITION OF CRUISE MISSILE RANGE, JUST
AS THE DEFINITION OF CRUISE MISSILES PER SE, MUST BE
CONTAINED IN THE TREATY ITSELF, NAMELY IN ITS ARTICLE II.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 GENEVA 10297 02 OF 02 071549Z

RATIONALE HAS BEEN PROVIDED.

- II

MR. AMBASSADOR,

THE USSR DELEGATION NOTES THAT AS A RESULT OF THE DISCUSSIONS HELD IN THE COURSE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS, JOINT DRAFT TEXTS OF THE TREATY BETWEEN THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS AND THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA ON THE LIMITATION OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS AND THE PROTOCOL THERETO, AS WELL AS OF THE JOINT STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES AND BASIC GUIDELINES FOR SUBSEQUENT NEGOTIATIONS ON THE LIMITATION OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS, HAVE BEEN UPDATED AS OF JULY 6, 1978.

THE AFOREMENTIONED DOCUMENTS HAVE BEEN THOROUGHLY REVIEWED AND REFLECT THE CURRENT STATUS OF THE ONGOING NEGOTIATIONS.

THE JOINT DRAFT TEXTS CONTAIN AGREED PROVISIONS, AS WELL AS PROPOSALS BY THE SIDES ON ISSUES ON WHICH WORK WILL HAVE TO BE CONTINUED.

THE USSR DELEGATION CONFIRMS THESE DOCUMENTS, AS OF JULY 6, 1978, AD REFERENDUM TO ITS GOVERNMENT.

I WOULD LIKE TO EXPRESS MY APPRECIATION TO THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE U.S. AND SOVIET SIDES IN THE DRAFTING GROUP AND IN THE WORKING SUBGROUP FOR THE WORK THEY HAVE ACCOMPLISHED. EARLE

SECRET

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: TEXT, NEGOTIATIONS, SALT (ARMS CONTROL), SPEECHES
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 07 jul 1978
Decaption Date: 20 Mar 2014
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978GENEVA10297
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: X1
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D780279-0410
Format: TEL
From: GENEVA USSALTTWO
Handling Restrictions:
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t19780787/aaaacvcy.tel
Line Count: 249
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: b064e779-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION SS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 29 jun 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2090850
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: MINISTER SEMENOV'S STATEMENTS OF JULY 6, 1978 (SALT TWO-1803) SEMENOV STATEMENT, JULY 6, 1978
TAGS: PARM, US, UR, (SEMENOV, V S)
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/b064e779-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014